

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

S E C R E T STATE 216173

LIMDIS NOFORN

FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 15751 SENT ACTION SECSTATE

INFO SECDEF WASHDC LONDON PARIS ROME MOSCOW VIENNA GENEVA NATO

EC BRUSSELS SALT TWO OCT 31:

QUOTE

S E C R E T BONN 15751

LIMDIS/NOFORN

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, US, NATO, EEC

SUBJECT: U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONS: OBSERVATIONS OF

FONOFF POLICY PLANNING STAFF CHIEF

REF: BONN 15651 AND BONN A-660

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING OCT 29 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF  
ON CSCE ISSUES (BONN 15712) FONOFF POLICY PLANNING  
STAFF CHIEF GUIDO BRUNNER OFFERED COMMENTS ON U.S./  
EUROPEAN RELATIONS. BRUNNER'S OBSERVATIONS TOUCHED  
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ON U.S./SOVIET BILATERALISM, EMERGING DOMESTIC

CONSIDERATIONS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES AND CHANGING  
FRENCH POLICY TOWARD NATO AND EUROPEAN UNIFICATION.  
END SUMMARY

1. COMMENTING ON FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL'S RECENT ARTICLE ON EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION AND U.S.-SOVIET BILATERALISM (REFS), AMBASSADOR BRUNNER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT LONG DEBATES HAD TAKEN PLACE WITHIN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, SINCE DR. KISSINGER'S APRIL 23 "YEAR OF EUROPE" SPEECH, CONCERNING LONG-RANGE GOALS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. IN PARTICULAR, GERMAN OFFICIALS WERE CONSIDERING WHETHER THE AMERICAN EFFORT TO PROMOTE GLOBAL STABILITY VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA WOULD CONTINUE TO BE PREMISED AND BASED ON COMMON ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WITH WESTERN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. AS VAN WELL'S ARTICLE IMPLIED, SOME GERMAN OFFICIALS SHARE THE CONCERN OF FRENCH PRESIDENT POMPIDOU, REPORTEDLY VOICED TO JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER TANAKA DURING THE LATTER'S RECENT VISIT TO PARIS, THAT THE MAIN LINE OF EMERGING U.S. FOREIGN POLICY COULD BE A WORLDWIDE BALANCE OF POWER WITH THE SOVIET UNION THAT COULD TEND TO SUBORDINATE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND JAPAN AS JUNIOR PARTNERS OF WASHINGTON. BRUNNER SAID THE LATTER ANALYSIS IS NOT RPT NOT THE PREVAILING VIEW WITHIN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, BUT SOME IMPORTANT GERMAN OFFICIALS ARE INCLINED TO TAKE POSITION SERIOUSLY. THE MAJORITY VIEW WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, ACCORDING TO BRUNNER AND ANOTHER RELIABLE FONOFF SOURCE, IS THAT THE HIGHLY DIVERGENT HISTORIES AND VALUES GOVERNING RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN SOCIETIES IMPOSE RATHER STRICT LIMITATIONS ON THE DEGREE OF FEASIBLE RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. IN SHORT, THERE IS A TENDENCY TO PERCEIVE A KIND OF "LIMITED U.S./SOVIET PARTNERSHIP" TO AVOID THE DANGERS OF WAR--PARTICULARLY NUCLEAR WAR.

2. WHAT IS IMPORTANT, IN THE GERMAN VIEW, SAID BRUNNER, IS THAT THE WEST NOW ADDRESS ITSELF SERIOUSLY AND PROMPTLY TO "ORGANIZING THE RULES OF THE GAME" REGARDING WESTERN ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND  
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SECURITY POLICIES. BRUNNER SHARES VAN WELL'S VIEW THAT THE WEST EUROPEANS WILL HAVE TO CONSULT MORE CLOSELY AS A COMMUNITY ON MILITARY AND SECURITY QUESTIONS AS WELL--BUT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF NATO. HE THOUGHT THE U.S./EUROPEAN EXERCISE FOR E AND NATDECLARATIONS S FAR HAD PROVIDED A USEFUL MIND CLEARING PROCESS. BRUNNER PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED THAT A REVITALIZATION OF U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONS MUST TAKE FULLY INTO ACCOUNT

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY  
CONSIDERATIONS IN THE WESTERN COUNTRIES. AS A PLANNER,  
BRUNNER VOICED THE CONCERN THAT SOCIAL FORCES IN  
WESTERN COUNTRIES MIGHT RENDER IT VERY DIFFICULT AT  
A FUTURE POINT TO CARRY OUT SUCH A REVITALIZATION  
SHOULD THE CURRENT EXERCISE PROVE TO BE UNSUCCESSFUL.  
IN PARTICULAR, BRUNNER REFERRED TO MULTI--NATIONAL  
ENTERPRISES AND OTHER INCIPIENT "PROTO-CORPORATE  
FORCES" IN WESTERN WORLD THAT MIGHT WEAKEN THE ABILITY  
OF GOVERNMENTS IN THE FUTURE TO DEAL WITH SUCH  
PROBLEMS.

3. AS TO FRANCE, BRUNNER SAID HE ATTRIBUTED THE RECENT  
EVOLUTION IN FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY TO AN INCREASING  
RECOGNITION IN PARIS THAT "GAULLIST FOREIGN POLICY"  
WAS NO LONGER PAYING OFF DOMESTICALLY OR IN  
TERMS OF CONCRETE GAINS FOR FRENCH SECURITY. HE  
PERCEIVED SOME INCREASING ILL FEELINGS TOWARD THE U.S.  
IN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT DUE TO A FEELING THAT PARIS  
"WAS BEING MANIPULATED." BUT THE BASIC FACTOR, IN  
BRUNNER'S VIEW, IS AN INCREASING CONCERN THAT FRANCE  
COULD NO LONGER TAKE FOR GRANTED THE CONTINUED SUB-  
STANTIAL AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN WESTERN  
EUROPE. AS LONG AS THE FRENCH FELT THIS "AMERICAN  
CONTINUITY" WAS A RELATIVELY ASSURED COMMODITY, THE  
FRENCH COULD FLAIL AWAY "AT THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE"  
AND "CONTINUE TO ENJOY A FREE RIDE" BEHIND THE AMERICAN  
SECURITY SHIELD. NOW THAT THAT CONTINUED AMERICAN  
PRESENCE IS IN DOUBT, BRUNNER BELIEVES THE FRENCH  
PURPOSE IS TO DELAY THE DAY OF SUBSTANTIAL AMERICAN  
TROOP REDUCTIONS; IN HIS VIEW, THE FRENCH SEE NO  
POSSIBILITY OF PREVENTING SUCH WITHDRAWALS AND SEE MBFR  
AS A FIG LEAF IN THIS CONNECTION. BRUNNER BELIEVES IT

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IS THESE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH ARE PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE  
FOR THE FRENCH SHIFT TOWARD A SOMEWHAT MORE FORTH-  
COMING ATTITUDE TOWARD EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, NATO, AND  
MORE HARMONIOUS U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONS. BUT IN HIS  
VIEW, THESE POSITIVE FORCES STAND IN A KIND OF  
CONSTANT COUNTER POINT WITH THE CONTINUED PRESSURES  
FROM THE LEFT AND GAULLIST RIGHT OF THE FRENCH  
POLITICAL SPECTRUM, THEREBY ACCOUNTING FOR THE  
SOMEWHAT UNEVEN FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT  
EMANATING FROM PARIS IN THE RECENT MONTHS.

HILLENBRAND

UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

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